3: Fulop--50 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/11 cont./

103 133 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

• [501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages opened up in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Barã, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[531] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3)) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3)), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyí-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá [317] (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found [323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent [501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba, [142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

[161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

/Illustrations facing p. 160 in the original source./

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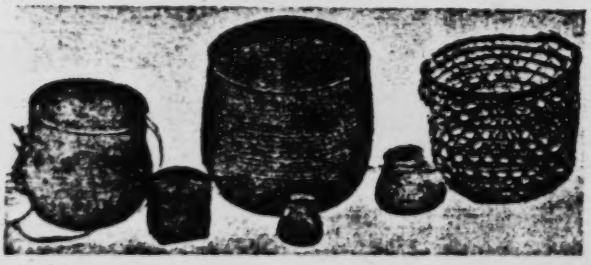
[531]

1. Sieves (baxti) with the characteristic designs.
2. Different types of large baskets (aturás, pyi, and sarreiro, térẽ-pi, the one with wide meshes) and small ones (pyi-kamõ).
3. Preparing the "rede-batida" /beaten hammock/.
4. Rough-hewing to prepare the oar.



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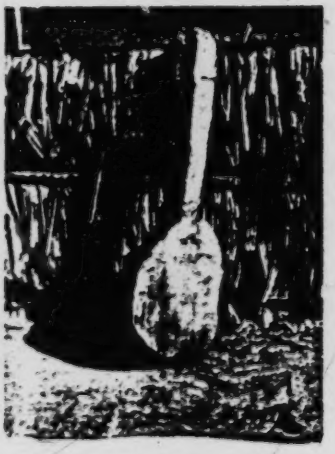

/183 cont./

412 that it was enough to set the diabase in a crack at the end of a straight stick, in the same position in which we mount our iron axes. With the help of tucum thread and breu /a substance [192] like pitch/ the necessary stability would be assured. The adze resulted from a smaller piece of diabase tied to the end of a curved stick, like a hook, yaxpũ. Today the syõ-a is only an instrument used as an ornament at the dances, hung on the left shoulder.

501 [192] 1) Canoe. The canoe, yuxkõ-sõ, is an implement of prime necessity, since these tribes live in a region where the water-courses constitute the only means of communication (16),

16. The "varadouros" /see footnote 5, p. 10/ through the forest are few and of secondary importance.

and fish is one of the principal foods. Today several tribes know how to build their canoes; but the skilled canoe-makers are the Tuyuka, Bará, Mikura, and Baniva.

The rivers of the region being large or with many cachoeiras and stones, they cannot use canoes made of bark, like other tribes (17),

17. The explorer Lobo D'Almada also speaks of canoes, with pachiubas estribadas (?) /propped or supported paxiubas (a kind of palm)/. They were dangerous, however, and were used for two or three men to go down the Tiquié in the stretch without cachoeiras. (Cf. "Lobo D'Almada," by Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Manaos, 1940, p. 73.)

but of very resistant wood and of only one trunk. Some of three meters in length and about 40 centimeters in width; others, large logs of eight to ten meters in length and 100 to 120 centimeters in width. All, however, with high and pointed stern

/183 cont./

• 501 and bow. Swift as the rivers are (18),

18. We mean to speak especially of the Uaupés and the Papurí, where the most numerous native nuclei are.

they do not allow larger boats. A small canoe will determine, in turn, that the community will be small, because of which the family community is the rule. Often, however, /184/ it was not enough for the transport of the whole family and goods. On the other hand, two men are sufficient for its construction: father and son.

*[192] Canoe (juxkõ-sõ)

*[192] With a blow of the ax on the bark of the chosen tree (19),

19. They prefer to use for this the kumã-kõ (Nheengatú mirá-tauá, yellow wood, Euxylóphora paraénsis, Hub., of the Rutaceae), very resistant and light, so that the canoes never go to the bottom. And also the sɨvi-kõ (black laurel, Nectándra mollis, Nees., of the Lauraceae), the kã-rẽ (black and yellow itaúba, sílvia itaúba, Pax.), and other Lauraceae called pĩ'ĩ-gõ.

/184 cont./

• 501 this starts to dry. A bonfire around it will end up by bringing down its trunk, which, with a slow fire (20),

*[192]

20. For such an effect they kindled the house of the cupim /a kind of ant/, buxtwá-gá, which serves marvelously, because it provides a slow and long-lasting fire easily controlled by the native, in order not to remove more than is required. It is the process that they regularly use when they want to hollow out wood for the making of the tub, mortar, trocano /signal drum/, canoe, etc.

will be hollowed out. The adze was used to scrape the charred wood, leaving the interior part more smooth and regular. Afterwards the canoe, hollowed out as desired, is put on some crossbars, and a fire below, in such a way that the wood is heated and not burned. Under the action of the heat the fibers become more flexible and the canoe-maker starts, little by little, by means of small staffs used as a wedge, exerting pressure so that the hollow of the canoe starts to become larger, beginning at the center, then the stern and the bow. In order that it not contract upon cooling, they place poles transversely at the places where later planks for /185/ the seats will be installed. According to its length, they will have three, five, or more seats. They make it with such a mastery that, put in the water, the craft is perfectly balanced, with the stern and the bow quite high. The holes or cracks are calked with breu, oxpé.

[177] Under the influence of the civilized, they add to the height of these canoes, with planks set in with nails at the edges. Such canoes are called, in the regional term, montarias.

/185 cont./

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[192]

2) Oar. The oar, wahá-phĩ (Uaupés uhá-phĩ), is often made of saví-kõ, like the canoe. The end, wahá-phĩ dõxpo-á, is always a small cylindrical transverse projection, slightly curved, like a crutch. Among the Tukano it is perfectly in accordance with the style of their seat and their cigar holder. The dimensions depend, evidently, on the wish of the owner and its purpose: there are small oars for the children, medium-sized ones for the women, and large ones for the men.

Tukano oar
(note the crutch top and the beak-shaped tip)

[177]

Due to the influence of the models of the civilized oars that navigate these rivers, one sees nowadays a great variety of shapes in the blade of the /186/ oars: roundish, lanceolate, etc. Not infrequently they produce on the blade colorful designs (circles, etc., evidently in imitation of the civilized). Originally it seems that they used an oar with a roundish blade, but with an almost imperceptible point; this generally in the more remote malocas.

/251/

439 The Indians who are in contact with the civilized obtain clothing and many objects from them in order later to resell these to other natives. It has been verified that in this trade they show economic judgment and know how to make large profits, not only among the Indians of a different tribe, but also among their own tribal "brothers" (82).

[437]

82. We know, for example, that the Tukano Indians residing in Melo Franco received flour from other Tukano from the mouth of the Áua in order to sell it to the Salesian Mission, and for this transaction alone they demanded from their "brothers" 50 per cent of the price of the flour.

8) Means of communication.

• 501 For their trade and social relations the means of communication are the rivers and igarapés; the canoe, then, is the primary means of transportation (83).

[171]

83. They never build rafts. The Makú, because they only live in the interior of the forests, do not know how to make canoes, nor do they possess them. They say that sometimes they improvise rafts in order to cross rivers or their branches. These are very rare events, however.

491 Since ordinarily these rivers are quite wide and subject to great differences in level and impetuousness of the waters during the time of high water, it is not possible to build bridges. As for passage across small brooks, they either do it by fording them or they take down trees without any concern except that they connect the two banks. This work, by the way, is very rare, because at every step one finds trees felled by storms, which serve as bridges.

4: Silva--473 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 321 in the original source/

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• 501
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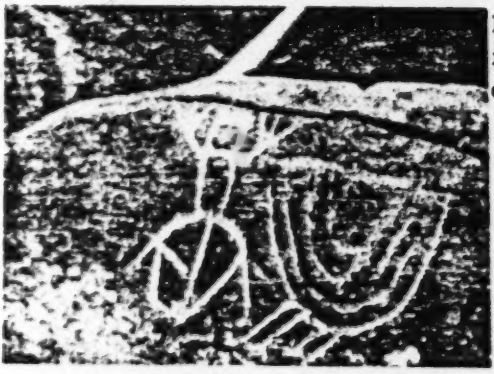
Burial in the canoe (juxkõ-sõ-koro)

532



Itacoatiara (rupestrian inscription) in Carurú-cachoeira (river Tiquié)

823

Mandú, the Ipeka tuxaua from Urubu-cuara (Uaupés R.) and his son beside the hole from which the tribes arose (cf. Lendas do Uaupés). The mound in the background (left) is supposed to have resulted from the spit of WEx-tĩ.

/334 cont./

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821
[753]

/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gɨ̃-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

[227]
[501]

36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

784
823
[103]

/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ya, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

823
[103]

In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxkésɨ̃-i'ɨ̃sé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

[192]

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.
• 501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.
T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/372/

764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a certain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases 763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still 764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

[797]

88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Miguel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

[323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
• 501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-koró, that is, in a canoe (89).
[192]

89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

/372 cont./

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[177]

/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "yuxkõ-sõ mãrĩ," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, hi[illegible]ith a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of [illegible]pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /sic: 90/,

[184]

90. Koch Grünberg says of the Kubẽwãna that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (Zwei Jahre, p. 314).

/404 cont./

481 524 *[192] One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one called Wãx-tĩ Max-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

• 501 868 [226] [147] Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home. Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

501 The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

/405 cont./

501 it now falls to the hand that was holding the handle to pull the blade of the oar. When someone feels tired, he interrupts the exercise, letting his companions proceed with the work. On the calm stretches of the river, or when they go downstream with the current (it is what is called to go downstream floating), it might happen that all stop rowing and entertain themselves in animated conversation.

505 The continuous traveling by way of rivers with dangerous cachoeiras not only gives them extraordinary endurance, but makes them brave and turns them into highly skilled navigators. A superior and serene courage, of someone who relies on his knowledge of the dangerous places and of the process to use in each one of the currents or whirlpools, and, therefore, does not fear surprises. Of someone who relies on his own strength, tested so many times at the most difficult moments; of someone who knows that, in the worst of the possibilities, if the canoe capsizes with the shock of a wave, it will still continue to float, and he will [574] be able to catch it, swimming, a few meters farther on. If some cargo is lost in this accident, he will have beijú and smoked fish at the first maloca, until his wife can prepare beijú for him again and until he catches some fish or kills some game. It is the most excellent control of the nerves that can be imagined, in any danger that the navigation presents. With these qualities it is understandable that they are the indispensable navigators of these rivers, and infuse us with great tranquility when we have them as crewmen. Frequently in the vicinities of the cachoeiras there exist native dwellings or there are Indians engaged in fishing, always ready to give help if they are asked.

According to the level of the waters, they know whether the canoe must seek one channel in preference to another, whether a rock is sufficiently covered, whether one needs to use the pole. In some cases the Indian /406/ will jump quickly from the canoe to a rock (140)

140. Those who are already dressed sometimes

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

121 societies. In reconstructing tropical forest culture history, note must be taken of the extraordinary ease of cultural transfers over the entire area. For this reason alone knowledge of total cultural systems seems essential. As matters stand now, much reconstruction must be based upon the very unreliable foundation of trait comparisons. What has [177] been of special interest in my study of the Cubeo has been the way in which some widespread cultural traits, particularly masked dances, harvest rites, and sacred trumpets, have been taken up and fitted into distinctive cultural patterns with a focus in an ancestral cult.

133 The Northwest Amazon region is bounded on the south by the Amazon, from where it is joined by the Rio Negro eastward to where the Marañón issues from the Andes. The Guaviare River is its northern boundary, the Andean cordillera bounds it in the west, and the Rio Negro in the east. The principal rivers of the region are the Caquetá, Apaporis, Tiquié, Papurý, Isana, Vaupés (known in Brazil as the Caiarý), Cuduiarí, Querarí, Aiarí, Tie, and Guainía. All drain into the Amazon. Ecologically, the Northwest Amazon is sharply differentiated only from the neighboring Andean region to the west and to a lesser degree from the open prairie or llanos on its northern [137] side. Eastward it fades into the flatter and lower-lying forests of the Amazon. Its southern margin is fixed only by an arbitrary river boundary. It is a densely wooded region of tall trees closely packed and interlaced with vines and lianas. At the river edges the forest growth is lower and more brushlike. It is also an elevated region whose streams are punctuated by hazardous cataracts. On the Vaupés, between Yurupari and the Rio Negro, Dr. Hamilton Rice (1910) counted 30 major cataracts and 60 small ones. The cataracts (*cachoeiras*) are for the Indians focal points of residence. Traditional sites, they often mark tribal and sib boundaries. Every cataract has its petroglyphs that depict mythical figures still known to the Indians. In some areas, as I have observed, the residents of the *cachoeiras* freshen the petroglyphs from time to time with deepening incisions. The rapids are more of a navigational hazard to the European traveler than to the Indians, who are expert canoemen and whose light craft [502] is easily portaged. Dr. Rice, who knew a good deal about the Amazon, declared the Cubeo to be the most expert canoemen on the river. [501] I can also testify to their coolness and skill in navigating their small dugout canoes, that have only an inch or two of freeboard, through the twisting boulder-strewn channel of a thundering rapids.

The land slopes abruptly eastward. In its western part the area is often a tumble of ravine-cut hills, exposed rock, and swamp. The Vaupés flows past high, open, uninhabited mesas. Scattered hills of

[text continues on p. 10]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness. 614 615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued.

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CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels. 501 516

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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501 516 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been overcome the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spontaneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!" On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

[461] [501 461] [501 517] [123]

501 462 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

[857]

502 [823] All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest.

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed.

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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recover it. Away from home, a canoe is moored completely out of the water.

COMMUNITIES ON THE CUDUIARÍ (upstream from mouth)

PLACE NAME	SIB	PLACE NAME	SIB
1. Kakómba	*Hehénewa*	16. Xiábewa	*Pedíkwa*
2. Kuridí kenámi	*Hehénewa*	17. Kuraría	*Kenánikauwũ*
3. Tcípakoríba *	*Hehénewa*	18. Abúhakũ	*Kenánikauwũ*
4. Okóhambũ	*Bahúkiwa*	19. Xwévebo	*Hũrũwũ*
5. Vekókũ	*Bahúkiwa*	20. Bedébo	*Hũrũwũ*
6. Ewáhubo	*Bahúkũdjauwũ*	21. Kobéhowa	*Pyéndo-Hehénewa*
7. Hurédo	*Bahúkũdjauwũ*	22. Avyákoríba	*Hũrũwũ*
8. Nyáparatainto	*Bahúkũdjauwũ*	23. Kwitóro	*Wadjá-Hũrũwũ*
9. Yavíbi	*Bahúkũdjauwũ*	24. Bedébũ	*Hũrũwũ*
10. Kiráda	*Bahúkiwa*	25. Toróhambũ	*Hũrũwũ*
11. Úbo	*Pedíkwa*	26. Hokóbũ	*Kenánikauwũ*
12. Mákavekũ	*Bahúkiwa*	27. Horáhararía	*Hũrũwũ*
13. Makatóta	*Bahúkiwa*	28. Hudjíbũ	*Bahúkiwa*
14. Toídibũ	*Pedíkwa*	29. Mátakwe	*Pyéndo-Hehénewa*
15. Monékenpaunwa	*Pedíkwa*		

* A small *Kordwa* settlement is at *Urupera* between 3 and 4. It is, however, only a fraction of a Querarí River sib and not a full community.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

123 622 the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

• 501 Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

[171] The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before [293] Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

[412] Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

[224] He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for [412] water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

A Death

The tinder-dry wood heaped underneath was soon alight and Kuarumey, helped again by his son, began to turn the hull, holding the canoe on rollers, first the right way up, then upside down and lastly on its side. The flames from the fire leapt five feet into the air all along its length and the men began to sweat as they watched. Soon they were covered in charcoal from head to foot. Every so often Kuarumey reached for his coca bag and shook some of the powder into his mouth. Gradually the sides of the trunk were forced open and wedges were placed along its length.

'In the Llanos they hang the canoe over the fire and there is less danger of the wood actually bursting into flames,' said Horacio. At that moment Kuarumey's wife approached us along the path carrying an earthen bowl full of *chicha*. 'And they don't let women approach during the burning for fear of the wood splitting.'

All day long they worked on the smouldering canoe. About midday they bound the ends with liana to prevent it splitting and occasionally put mud on the thinner parts to prevent further burning. The work was completed before dusk. The canoe would cool gradually during the night, and in the morning the braces would be removed and replaced by flat wooden supports. Then Kuarumey would try out his new canoe in the river. It was well built and the sides were even, barely half an inch thick throughout. It should last him for several seasons, providing he did not lose it during the winter floods.

The sun shone warmly on the russet water as Kuarumey paddled the slim canoe away from the port and down the river – so light, so strong, so manageable and in shape so beautiful, yet for ourselves unthinkable – we would have capsized in a moment; only Horacio could master an Indian craft. *El Diablo* was now on the bank drying in the sun, and Horacio and José were starting to recaulk the battered shell.

The rough passage over dried-out river channels, through log-strewn stream beds, across the portage and over vicious rocks, had jarred the joints so much that, were we now to have slid her into the water, she would have sunk like a sieve. For days we had left her on the bank to absorb the heat of the morning sun, turned her and then covered her with a tarpaulin against the occasional afternoon storms, Now the old caulking was pulled away and melted down together with the pitch we had brought from Mitú. However, this was not sufficient and José exchanged some of our fish-hooks for wild beeswax and resin, and this too was melted down.

The fragrant smell of pitch and beeswax filled the air and as the lumps slowly dispersed in the bubbling black syrup, José began to tell of the rapids which lay ahead: 'Listen to the water,' he said, and in the distance we could hear the rumbling; the falls were three bends downstream. 'Only half a day's journey away is the fall we call Piña. In the dry season it is a long series of rapids and we need help to carry everything from the upper end, through

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 66-A/

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A graceful Tukano canoe.

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

ARTHUR P. SORENSEN, JR.
State University of New York at Binghamton

In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.

THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

Setting and Culture Area

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

[P. 670-A]